

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 R

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S/S - MR. MILLER  
EA:MR. STEARNS

----- 071976

R 080354Z DEC 73  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 240812

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR  
SUBJ: YOUR CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SWARAN SINGH

REF: NEW DELHI 14027

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

1. THIS IS MEANT TO SUPPLEMENT AND REINFORCE OUR CONVERSATION IN NEW YORK ON THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 3 CONCERNING THE POINTS RAISED WITH YOU BY SWARAN SINGH BEFORE YOUR DEPARTURE.
2. FIRST, YOU SHOULD TELL SWARAN SINGH THAT I AM MOST GRATEFUL FOR HIS RENEWED INVITATION TO VISIT INDIA. YOU CAN SAY AS I TOLD HIM HERE IN OCTOBER THAT I VERY MUCH CONFIDENTIAL

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INTEND TO TAKE HIM UP ON THIS INVITATION AS SOON AS TIME PERMITS. YOU AND HE BOTH KNOW WELL THAT THERE ARE SOME CURRENT PREOCCUPATIONS.

3. YOU CAN ALSO TELL HIM THAT THIS DOES NOT DETRACT IN ANY WAY FROM THE IMPORTANCE THIS GOVERNMENT ATTACHES TO DEVELOPING A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA, AN OBJECTIVE TOWARD WHICH YOU AND YOUR MISSION HAVE GOTTEN US OFF TO SUCH A GOOD START. I WILL SEE TO IT THAT AMBASSADOR KAUL, WHOM I SEE ON FRIDAY PRIOR TO HIS DELHI CONSULTATIONS, GETS THIS SAME MESSAGE. YOU CAN ALSO REMIND SWARAN SINGH

OF WHAT I SAID PUBLICLY TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE DURING MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS; I.E., THAT WE RECOGNIZE INDIA AS ONE OF THE MAJOR FORCES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD, WHOSE GROWTH AND STABILITY IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF SOUTH ASIA.

4. AS FOR THE SITUATION IN THE SUBCONTINENT, THE U.S. IS GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY THE OVER-ALL TREND UNDER SIMLA TOWARD A FUNDAMENTAL AND PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION AMONG INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH. WE SENSE THAT ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS REMAIN COMMITTED TO THIS TASK AND WE ARE PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGED BY RECENT INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE PART OF BANGLADESH IN SEEKING A WAY TO BEGIN TALKS WITH PAKISTAN. THAT INCLUDES THE CONTRIBUTION THAT THE RECENT GENERAL AMNESTY BY BANGLADESH SHOULD MAKE.

5. AS FOR PAKISTAN, YOU CAN TELL SWARAN SINGH THAT BHUTTO MADE CLEAR TO US WHEN I SAW HIM IN ISLAMABAD THAT HE REMAINS STRONGLY COMMITTED TO THE OBJECTIVE OF PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA. MY TALK WITH HIM INCIDENTALLY FOLLOWED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS TOUR OF AZAD KASHMIR WHERE HE MADE THE PUBLIC COMMENTS THAT TROUBLED SWARAN SINGH. YOU CAN SAY THAT OUR MISSION IN ISLAMABAD SEES THESE COMMENTS BY BHUTTO MORE DIRECTED AT PAKISTAN DOMESTIC POLITICS THAN AT INDIA. THE FACT THAT INDIA SEEMS TO HAVE ACTED WITH RESTRAINT TO THESE COMMENTS SUGGESTS THAT INDIA IS PREPARED TO REGARD THEM IN SIMILAR FASHION. (FYI. IF THERE IS ANY SOUTH ASIAN ISSUE WHERE I HOPE WE CAN AVOID REPEAT AVOID INVOLVEMENT IT IS KASHMIR. CONFIDENTIAL

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END FYI.)

6. ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT, WE ARE GLAD TO HAVE SWARAN SINGH'S ASSURANCE THAT THERE IS NOTHING SECRET ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH RUSSIA. AS I SAID TO AMBASSADOR DOBYRININ HERE DURING AMBASSADOR KAUL'S DINNER FOR SENATOR FULBRIGHT, WE HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH GOOD AND CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION SO LONG AS THIS IS NOT DIRECTED AT US. SIMILARLY WE ASSUME THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO PROBLEM IN CLOSE AND FRIENDLY INDO/U.S. RELATIONS.

7. ON CAMBODIA, WE ASSUME AMBASSADOR SEN WILL HAVE

ALREADY REPORTED THE TEXT OF AMBASSADOR BENNETT'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE UNGA ON THE PRO-SIHANOUK RESOLUTION. WE DO NOT AGREE WITH SINGH'S JUDGMENT THAT THE CAMBODIAN ISSUE IN THE UN IS A PERIPHERAL MATTER. WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT SO MUCH PERSPECTIVE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN LOST IN THE UN THAT NATIONS COULD SERIOUSLY ENTERTAIN, WHATEVER THEIR OPINIONS ABOUT THE MERITS, A

PROPOSAL TO SEAT THE FRONT MAN FOR AN EXILE REGIME. SPEAKING STRICTLY IN TERMS OF SIHANOUK'S OWN INTERESTS, AND WE DO NOT DISPUTE HIS EARLIER POSITIVE ROLE IN THE THIRD WORLD AND IN CAMBODIA, IT SEEMS TO US THAT SIHANOUK STANDS A BETTER (IF STILL SLIM) CHANCE OF REGAINING POWER IF HE THREW HIS LOT IN WITH THE NON-COMMUNIST NATIONALISS IN PHNOM PENH IN A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION RATHER THAN WITH THE LAO DONG SURROGATES NOW RUNNING THE INSURGENCY. WE THINK THESE NORTH VIETNAMESE-TRAINED KHMER CADRE, IF THEY EVER GAIN POWER, WILL THROW SIHANOUK OUT; HE HIMSELF HAS STATED SO ON AT LEAST A DOZEN OCCASIONS SINCE 1971.

8. THE GOI MUST ITSELF GRANT THAT THE GKR IS THE SUCCESSOR TO SIHANOUK IN STRICT LEGAL TERMS. SIHANOUK WAS REMOVED BY ACT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT THAT HE HIMSELF INSTALLED. THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THAT BODY REITERATED THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO ADHERE TO ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS, UPON DEPARTURE OF SIHANOUK, AND FEARING FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SAFETY OF THEIR SUPPLY ROUTES AND BASE AREAS, ATTACKED THE CAMBODIANS A FULL MONTH BEFORE THE JOINT US-ARVN SWEEP INTO CAMBODIA ON MAY 1, 1970. THE GRUNK, A CREATURE OF THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST FRONT, HAS NO LEGAL STANDING AS THE QUOTE GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE OF PRINCE SIHANOUK, LEAVING ASIDE CONSIDERATIONS OF LACK OF PROPINQUITY OF GEOGRAPHY AND IDEOLOGY; LACK OF GOVERNMENT THAT CONTROLS THE APPARATUS OF THE STATE AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, LACK BY ANY STANDARD OF THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE PEOPLE.

9. THE USG BELIEVES THAT EQUIVOCATION ON THE PART OF NATIONS THAT SHOULD BE SUPPORTING THE EFFORTS OF A COUNTRY SUCH AS CAMBODIA IS NOT HELPFUL IN TRYING TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER. WE DO NOT SUPPORT ANY PARTICULAR CLIENT AND WE WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH ANY ARRANGEMENT THAT THE KHMER CAN WORK OUT FOR THEMSELVES THAT LEAVES CAMBODIA NEUTRAL AND INDEPENDENT. SIHANOUK, ON HIS CURRENT COURSE, DOES NOT, IN OUR VIEW, STAND MUCH OF A CHANCE OF ACCOMPLISHING THAT OBJECTIVE.

10. WE WILL BE PROVIDING YOU GUIDANCE SEPARATELY ON

QUESTIONS RAISED WITH YOU BY SWARAN SINGH CONCERNING  
THE GENERAL OIL SHORTAGE SITUATION AND PARTICULARLY  
THE PROPOSAL FOR JOINT OIL EXPLORATION. KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

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ISLAMABAD  
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